

C. 1794

THE
REAL GROUNDS
OF THE
PRESENT WAR
WITH
FRANCE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A POSTSCRIPT.

By JOHN BOWLES, Esq.

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dented in its nature as alarming in its tendency, was reserved for modern times ; an evil which, besides carrying in its train all the misfortunes that have hitherto afflicted the human race, seems, if not timely checked, to be pregnant with mischiefs that surpass all experience, and defy all remedy ; an evil which threatens to subvert the very foundations of human felicity, and to occasion the total loss of all the advantages resulting from a state of society.

IT would be extremely inadequate to describe the evil alluded to, by the general and common term “ The French Revolution.”—The event of a Revolution does not unfrequently occur in the History of the World. But that of France has little in common with those which preceded it, except the name ; and we must resort to those circumstances which are peculiar to itself, and by which it is essentially distinguished from all other Revolutions to account for the unspeakable mischiefs it has already produced, as well as for those which it still portends.

HITHERTO a Revolution has operated no more than a change or alteration in the Government of a Country. Such change or alteration has indeed

deed been generally accompanied with animosity, civil discord, and convulsion. But the contest over, these dreadful concomitants disappeared; Government was transferred to other hands, or underwent a variation in its form. The sense of mankind, however, invariably admitted the necessity of some stable and efficient Government; and the very struggle itself recognized such necessity. But the distinguishing feature of the French Revolution has been an endeavour to subvert all legitimate authority. The fundamental principle of this remarkable event, is to absolve mankind from all ties of duty and allegiance to the established Government, whatever it may be, and in its place to substitute the anarchy of popular controul. This principle has succeeded under the false guise and borrowed name of Civil Rights; which have been used as pretexts to inflame the passions of the multitude, to mislead their judgment, and to render them the instruments of general ruin.

IF the mischiefs which have resulted from the adoption of this principle had been confined to France, they would afford a most striking and awful lesson to the rest of the world; suggesting that the greatest misfortune a people can suffer, is to be freed from the restraints of

Law and Government; restraints which are inseparable from an orderly state of society.

THE progressive horrors of the last four years, and the accumulated miseries which mark the present situation of that once flourishing country, must impress every feeling mind in a manner that language would in vain attempt to describe.

IF merely the *political* interests of so many millions of inhabitants were abandoned to frenzy, and left at the mercy of every wild caprice and mad project of an inflamed, deluded, and inexperienced multitude (themselves the engines of artful miscreants), the calamity would be highly deserving of commiseration.—But France also exhibits an immense and populous country in every respect a prey to confusion and disorder—released from all legitimate controul—exposed to all the outrages of wild fury, ungovernable passion, and insatiable malice—affording no personal security but what is to be found in the precarious resources of silence, concealment, or hypocrisy—under the dominion of terror, violence, and crimes—where dissensions are composed only by blood, and slaughter alone gives predominance to faction—where the ties of society are all loosened, the feelings of nature and humanity obliterated, every social duty and affection despised,

despised, the obligations of morality and religion ridiculed, and Infidelity and Atheism publicly avowed and applauded—where commerce and manufacture, industry and riches, public honour and private faith, civilization and urbanity, law, justice, and magistracy, have all disappeared—where, in short, the manners and habits of a once polished and liberal people are become ferocious and sanguinary, and their national character is degraded far below that of savages.—Such are the consequences which have flowed from the principles adopted, and acted on in France; consequences which flow as naturally from such a source, as night succeeds to day, or as the effect proceeds from the cause.

BUT, besides the influence of sympathetic sensibility, the rest of Europe has abundant reason on its own account to interest itself in the situation of France. The disorders to which that country is a prey, are not only themselves of a contagious nature, but the French people, insensible of their own delirium, seem eager to spread the infection, and to render all mankind as miserable as themselves. Like the fallen Angels, they aspire to no other happiness than that of involving others in their own guilt and wretchedness. Torn and divided among themselves, destitute of all internal sources of union, they accord only in a wish to curse their neighbours,

neighbours, by communicating their own ungovernable spirit of licentiousness (most falsely termed Liberty), and by extending their wild and pernicious notions of absurd and unattainable equality to every part of the globe. In such objects only can they agree; by such ties only can their discordant parties be united. They seem sensible, and with great reason, that it is only by extending the Reign of Anarchy abroad, that they can preserve its Empire at home*; and that unless they can succeed in such an attempt, they must at length be compressed, and probably by a very painful process, into a state of order and cohesion. They are therefore indefatigable, beyond all example, in diffusing the poison of their principles; in propagating their horrid rights of man (from which order, humanity, and justice are totally excluded); and in prompting the seditious of every country to revolt and insurrection; and wherever they can, by such means, succeed in weakening the bands of society, they instantly improve the advantage by the sword, and, under the delusory name of Freedom, establish confusion by force of Arms. Considering their own country as the focus of disorder and anarchy, they think themselves entitled to make it the seat of universal dominion;

* It is an observation of Thomas Paine, that "when France shall be surrounded with Revolutions she will be in peace and safety." In the same Revolutionary spirit, that remarkable promoter of peace and safety, at a meeting of the Revolution Society, held at the London Tavern in November 1791, gave as his toast, "The Revolution of the whole WORLD."

pretending to erect the banner of Liberty, they endeavour to subjugate other nations to their own yoke ; and, notwithstanding the most pacific professions, their thirst for conquest is greater than has ever been excited, either by ambitious or religious frenzy.

THE system pursued by these unprincipled madmen, with respect to other countries, bears a very close analogy to that which prevails among themselves at home. Having, in their domestic concerns, trampled upon all laws human and divine, and violated every sanction of honour, humanity, and religion, they equally disregard the obligation of those engagements which have been formed between different nations, with a view to mutual harmon reciprocal security. The laws of nations are no more respected by them than those of municipal authority, or of moral obligation. They consider their own wild and ungovernable will as paramount to the most solemn treaties ; and by a vague and fictitious reference to natural rights, they pretend not only to set aside the most positive stipulations, but also to absolve other nations from their authority. They even prescribe a form of Government for other countries. Thus do they invade the independence of other States, and

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and arrogate to themselves the right of giving Law to the whole world.

It may here be allowed to pause a moment, to deplore the injury which the cause of genuine Freedom has sustained from the horrid combination of events which form the French Revolution. Such events tend not only to check the progress of Liberty, but also, by abusing its sacred name, to prejudice and disgrace it in the eyes of mankind.

AT the commencement of that eventful period, France presented the fairest prospect of establishing its freedom and felicity on a solid and permanent basis. It possessed a Monarch who had no wish but for the welfare of his People, and the prosperity of his Kingdom: a Monarch whose piety and virtues will attract the admiration of the latest posterity. But a violent and profligate faction, aided by the propagation of the most wild and licentious principles, subversive of all Government, blasted the hopeful prospect; and, having broken down all the fences which could restrain the passions and the vicious propensities of mankind, led an inflamed, an infatuated, and a corrupted people from excess to excess, and from crime to crime, till they attained the very summit of atrocity, by imbruing their savage hands in the blood of their beneficent Sovereign.

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IT is not, perhaps, much to be wondered at, that the infamous perpetrators of such crimes should seek to facilitate the success of their nefarious projects by pretending to be engaged in the cause of Freedom, and by representing every endeavour to check their pernicious progress (either by opposing the success of their arms, or the propagation of their principles), as an effort of despotism to crush the liberties of mankind. But for any one in this Country to hold such language, is the greatest insult that can be offered to a free and enlightened nation.

WE know the value of Liberty, and we properly detest every species of arbitrary power; but we remember the slow and arduous progress by which our civil rights were established on a secure and permanent basis; and we are aware that anarchy is much more hostile to genuine freedom, and much further removed from it, than despotism itself. The latter restrains mankind from becoming free; the former renders them unworthy and unfit to be so: the one checks, indeed, the progress of Liberty; the other corrupts and destroys its essence. The passage from Despotism to Liberty is slow, gradual, and difficult;—it is however eventually certain, unless licentiousness should intervene with its train of evils, infinitely worse than all

which despots can produce: but from anarchy to sound and salutary freedom there is no passage, but through the gloomy paths of despotic rule. For when mankind are once released from the restraints of government, of law, and of order, they unavoidably become so wild, ungovernable, and vitiated, that nothing but the strong iron hand of Arbitrary Power can bring them into any kind of regular subjection, or restore their capacity for the enjoyment of orderly freedom.

THE accession of Territory already made by France, should alone be sufficient to rouse every other European Power to the most vigorous exertions, in order to check the progress of such overweening ambition, and to restore that general balance of power which has been thus disturbed, and which long experience has shewn to be necessary to the harmony and tranquillity of this quarter of the Globe. For not to mention the early invasion of Avignon and the *Comtat*, or the usurpation of the rights of the German Princes in Alsace—already does Savoy form a part of the French territories.—The Imperial Towns of Spire, Worms, Mentz, and Frankfort, with the Bishopric of Liege, have been seized by French troops.—The hitherto free and

and independent Republic of Geneva has been subjected by superior force to the Dominion of France ;—the extensive and fertile Provinces known by the description of the Austrian Netherlands, after being infected by French principles, have been over-run by French armies : and the unfortunate inhabitants have found, upon experience, that Gallic Liberty is the most degrading and miserable servitude.

BUT the principles upon which France professes to wage war, render her ambition and her conquests peculiarly alarming with regard to the security and the independence of the rest of Europe ; for instead of admitting the necessity of any national difference, of any actual aggression or injury, as a motive for war, she assumes the hitherto-unheard-of right of invading and subduing other Countries, for the avowed purpose of interfering in their Government, and without any existing cause of quarrel or dissension. By the Decree of the 19th of November 1792, the Convention, disclaiming all those ties by which Nations have hitherto held themselves bound to respect the tranquillity and independence of each other, announces to the World that France will consider as a sufficient ground for war, the pretext of giving Liberty to other Nations ;—a pre-

text the most presumptuous and domineering that was ever urged as an occasion for hostilities ;—a pretext so vague and indefinite, that no Country in any possible situation, or by any possible precaution, can guard against its application.

“ DECREE OF FRATERNITY.

“ SITTING OF THE 19TH Nov. 1792.

“ THE National Convention declare, in the
 “ name of the French Nation, that they will
 “ grant **FRATERNITY** and *assistance* TO ALL PEOPLE
 “ who wish to recover their Liberty : and they
 “ charge the Executive Power to fend the
 “ necessary orders to the Generals to give
 “ assistance to such People, and to defend those
 “ Citizens who have suffered, or may suffer, in
 “ the cause of Liberty.

“ DECREED to be printed IN ALL LAN-
 “ GUAGES.”

IT is impossible to view such a Decree otherwise than as a general declaration of war—a Declaration

clarion of the most insolent, perfidious, and malignant kind. For while France thereby avows, in unequivocal language, that she does not consider herself bound to observe any measures with the Government of other Countries, she asserts a right to make war with them in a case of which she not only makes herself the sole Judge, but which, upon her own principles, she has prejudged to exist in every part of Europe. This Decree is also evidently intended to accelerate its own execution, by exciting every people to disaffection and revolt, and by holding out an invitation to the seditious and disaffected of every Country to exert themselves against the established Government, and to apply for the promised *assistance* :—in short, by unfolding the principles on which France is now carrying on war with other Countries, this Decree interests all the rest of Europe against her success in that war; as such success would only enable her to carry her menace into general effect.

THE present licentious, disorderly, and savage state of France, while it stamps a kind of originality upon the idea that such a Country in such a situation should pretend to confer Liberty upon other Nations, explains at the same time what species of liberty it is which is meant to be thus generously bestowed. Not that Liberty which is founded

upon

upon law, and favourable to order—not that Liberty which is allied to security, and productive of confidence and harmony—alas ! France has no such Liberty either to confer or enjoy.—It is the reverse of all this that she has established at home, and which she seeks to communicate abroad ; a turbulent, undefined, unbridled, ferocious, and sanguinary Liberty ; produced by the removal of every wholesome restraint, and consisting in the privilege of committing the most atrocious crimes with impunity.

IT is plain therefore, that the Decree of the 19th of November 1792, called *the Decree of Fraternity*, when translated into accurate language, and explained by the principles and conduct of France, is neither more nor less than an offer of fraternity and assistance to the rebellious subjects of every Country in Europe, and an assurance that, upon a favourable occasion, they shall be openly aided to bring their Country into the same state of distraction and uproar as France herself exhibits to the world. Nay, so sanguine was the Convention of the speedy effect of this plan of universal insurrection, that the Decree in question proceeded to charge the Executive Council to give the Generals the necessary orders to assist such nations and to defend such citizens as had been

been or might be persecuted in the cause of Liberty: while, to prevent any doubt of the unlimited extent of the Decree, an amendment proposed by a Deputy, that it should be applicable only to those people on whose territory the Armies of the Republic had already entered, was instantly rejected; and it was ordered *to be translated into all languages.*

THERE is abundant reason to conclude, that the Convention was encouraged the sooner to pass this Decree by the rash confidence it reposed in the assurances of those unworthy British subjects who represented, according to their traitorous wishes, though in direct contradiction to the fact, that England was ripe for revolt, and eager to adopt the principles and to follow the example of France.—For in less than two months afterwards, when the British People, with a zeal, a fervor, and an unanimity, unparalleled in the history of the world, had testified their ardent and inviolable attachment to their King and Constitution (proving thereby that they both understood and deserved the privileges by which they are so eminently distinguished)—and when the British Government, strong and formidable in the fidelity and affection of the people, as well as in the unprecedented prosperity and unrivalled resources of the Country, spoke the firm, manly, and reasonable

sonable language of determination to curb the insolence, to chastise the perfidy, and to check the conquests of France, and to vindicate the dignity and independence of Great Britain and her allies ; then did the French Minister, M. Le Brun, think it prudent to crouch to the British Lion, and endeavoured to soften the Decree by an Explanation, which, however unsatisfactory and inadmissible, was so forced and unnatural, that it never had occurred and never could occur to any one as the real and original meaning of the Decree itself.

By this Explanation the Minister denies the intent of the Decree to be what England had felt and understood it, viz. *to encourage and favour the seditions of all Nations* ; and he pretends to confine its operation to “ the sole case in which the general “ will of a Nation clearly and unequivocally “ expressed should call the French Nation to its “ assistance and fraternity.” This Explanation, however, is not only *not warranted* by the Decree, but it is such as the Decree is by no means capable of bearing. The Decree itself is an offer in terms “ of fraternity and assistance to “ all people who wish to recover their Liberty ;” and being ordered *to be translated and printed into all languages*, it is evidently an invitation to all people to apply to France for such assistance.—The

Explanation

Explanation artfully supposes the interference of France to be engaged only when spontaneously applied for by another people ; a difference no less than that which exists between the bravo who, by an officious offer of assistance, stimulates and encourages others to quarrel and to fight, intending in a favourable moment to take advantage of the skirmish—and the generous stranger who flies at the call of distress, and spontaneously rescues the defenceless victim from destruction.

THE Explanation, seeking also to rebut the charge of intending to excite and foster sedition, which it defines to be “ the movement of a small number against the nation at large,” declares that the assistance of France is promised only to a whole people and not to a part.—But how does this construction accord with a fundamental principle adopted in France, that *for a people to be free it is sufficient that they will it*; according to which principle the Explanation would reduce the Decree to a mere promise of assistance when it cannot be wanted, and an offer of Freedom to a people who shall be already in complete possession of it. Can a doubt however exist, that it was *effectual assistance* which was meant to be bestowed? To doubt that, would be to affront the benevolent intentions of the Convention. Besides, the

Decree, far from containing any expression tending to restrict its application to the case mentioned in the Explanation, promises in the most general terms assistance to all people who shall *wish to recover* their Liberty, *qui voudront recouvrer leur Liberté*; which is precisely the kind of language that is calculated to cherish and expand the seeds of discontent and sedition which are to be found in every Country, but not at all applicable to the case of an unanimous expression of the general will.—That the Decree in question is incompatible with the Explanation attempted to be given, will further appear from the direction it contains to the Executive Power, to send the necessary orders to the Generals to carry it into prompt execution, by giving assistance to such people and to defend *those citizens* who have suffered or who may suffer in the cause of Liberty. Can such orders, particularly in the terms in which they are here directed to be given, be made to accord with the restriction of the Decree to the case where a *whole people* may apply for the assistance of France?—Are the Generals to be the JUDGES of the question, whether the application proceeds from a whole people or a part? or is there the least hint or suggestion to them, that any such enquiry is to be made? No, they

they are instantly armed with authority, at their own discretion, to defend, not merely a people, but " those Citizens" (*i. e.* any part of a people) " who HAVE SUFFERED or may suffer in the cause " of Liberty."

THE impossibility of making the Explanation accord with the Decree, affords an adequate presumption that the former was insincere ; but divers concomitant circumstances prove to demonstration, not only the insincerity of the Explanation, but also that it was meant to lull this Country into a state of deceitful confidence, with a view, doubtless, of involving us by surprise in the general ruin.

ADMITTING however, by way of argument, that the Decree was in itself capable of the construction put upon it by the French Minister in his official Note of the 7th of January 1793, still a regard to the dignity and independence of this Country rendered it impossible to accept such an Explanation ; which, when stripped of its subtlety, and viewed in its true light, is equally objectionable with the Decree itself ; for it still maintains the right of France to interfere in the internal affairs of other Countries ; and though it pretends to limit the exercise of that right to a particular

case, yet as the existence of that case is referred only to the judgment of France, such a limitation amounts to nothing, and the claim stands absolute and unrestricted. Indeed a claim of that nature cannot be recognized in any shape or under any pretence. If in *any* respect, but particularly in a matter of such concern to a people as the form or existence of its Government, one Country could claim a title, under whatever colour, to dictate to other Nations, the latter would lose not only their freedom and independence as States, but also their entire security for their internal liberties. For it is essential to a free and independent State to be subject to no foreign controul or influence whatever, in the regulation of its domestic affairs ; and if by the introduction of a foreign force the Government of a Country were to be changed or modelled, by what means could the people free themselves from the authority necessarily resulting from such interference ? Would it be prudent to rely on the generosity and disinterestedness of the Power at whose mercy they lay, to abandon all views of ambition and avarice, and to relinquish the opportunity for aggrandizement which had been thus acquired ? Would the pretence of affording assistance in recovering their Liberty, be a sufficient security that no advantage should be taken of the dependent situation to which they had, by that

that very assistance, been reduced ? No, they would soon discover that their generous friends, who were ready enough to emancipate them from their own Government, would be as ready to substitute in its place the intolerable dominion of a foreign yoke. Pretences as plausible and specious as that on which interference was first made, would easily be found for its continuance ; and the unfortunate people, after the recent example of the Belgians, would realize the fable of the sheep, which exchanged their protecting dogs for devouring wolves.

THE claim, therefore, asserted by France, even in her Explanation, is daring and presumptuous in the extreme, and must be repelled by every State that has any regard for its political independence, or its domestic freedom and security. Such a claim, if carried into effect, would reduce all other Countries to a Colonial state, and render them dependent upon France. If the Decree of the 19th of November was an universal Declaration of War, the Explanation of that Decree is an assertion of Universal Sovereignty. The pretence on which this claim is founded, far from affording any qualification, is, perhaps, the most dangerous that could have been advanced. If France, as the general dispenser of Liberty, were authorised to say to other Governments, "*You are tyrannical and must be demolished,*" nothing more would be necessary

necessary to make her the mistress—the tyrant of the world. Such a pretence could be easily borrowed on all occasions ; and being supported by force, no place would be found unsuitable, no time unfit, for its application. The pretended restriction of it to the case of solicitation for assistance from a whole people, is a most glaring subterfuge ; for the question, Whether such solicitation proceeds from a whole people, or a part ? (a question in itself subject to the greatest ambiguity) is left to the arbitrium of France : and the attention which she has paid to the Addresses of seditious Societies here (some of which Societies were not even known to exist till they were brought into notice by the Convention), proves to demonstration, that she would consider those turbulent and disaffected persons who are to be found even in the best-regulated States, however few and insignificant they might be, as expressing the general voice. The newly-constructed Gallic optics are contrived to magnify the disaffected part of a State to the extent of the whole. Indeed, the claim of thinking and speaking for the community at large is invariably urged by persons of that description ; and the rhetorical figure which makes a part stand for the whole, is no where in such general use as among the partizans of Sedition.

THE extreme jealousy which France has shewn with respect to any interference of other Nations in her own concerns (although in her situation it would have been the greatest blessing to have obtained by *any* means a settled and regular Government) furnishes the most pointed explanation of her views in seeking to establish a case, in which she may at pleasure interfere in the domestic affairs of other States. By thus denying to them the same measure which she so strenuously claims for herself, she fully proves the injustice as well as the ambition by which she is actuated. It is impossible not to notice the contrast to such conduct which has been exhibited by Great Britain, who, during the whole Revolution, has observed a strict neutrality, a generous and magnanimous forbearance, with regard to France ; neither insulting the misfortunes, intermeddling in the concerns, nor taking advantage of the distresses of that distracted country ;—a conduct the more noble, as it succeeded the injuries we had recently received from her during the American dispute. After having, however, returned good for evil, we have in our turn been recompensed by the blackest perfidy—by the most atrocious and injurious attempts to destroy our internal quiet ; and at length, because we are not a people to sacrifice our dignity and to forego our means of security, we are driven into a war ;

of which war, however, innumerable memorials of British spirit, valour, and conduct, prognosticate the most glorious success and the most happy and honourable issue.

IT has been thought essential to discuss so fully the Decree of Fraternity, because that Decree seems to afford the touchstone of explanation as to the conduct and views of France with respect to other Countries. A great variety of facts have concurred to shew, that the real intent of this Decree corresponded closely with that import which it obviously bears, and which England and indeed all Europe had uniformly ascribed to it. Nor can it be considered in any other light than as an aggression against the tranquillity, the honour, the rights, and the independence, of every other State. By assuming the specious though shadowy pretext of granting assistance to Nations in recovering their Liberty, it became infinitely more dangerous and hostile than an avowed intention of subjecting all other Countries to the dominion of France could have been; for such was the artful and insidious nature of that pretext, that it was calculated to create the very case to which it referred; and by affording a disguise, it tended to promote the success of that ambition which by an open display would have been entirely frustrated. Under the mask of Religion the arms

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of Mahomet established the empire of the Saracens —and under the mask of Liberty the French seek to establish the infinitely more formidable empire of Anarchy. But surely at the close of the Eighteenth Century mankind are much too enlightened to be deluded into a belief that either true Religion or true Liberty can be propagated by force of arms.

If the Convention had stopped here, it would have done enough to excite the indignation and to rouse the vengeance of all Europe. But fearful, as it should seem, of not having been sufficiently explicit in its projects of universal confusion, by another Decree, dated the 15th of December 1792, it reduces the general plan promulgated by the Decree of Fraternity into a regular system, and furnishes the detail of that process by which other States are to be broken up and decompounded, and their Government, Institutions, Laws, Usages, and Constituted Authorities, entirely abolished.

By the Decree of Fraternity the general right of invasion was fully asserted, and the artful pretence of giving Liberty was assumed as an universal passport for French Arms. By the Decree of the 15th of December the Convention traces the plan by which the operation of bestowing Liberty is to be performed ; an operation so destructive, both in its progress and its tendency,

as was never before devised by the malice or tyranny of man. A few passages of this Decree will best speak for themselves.

" NATIONAL CONVENTION, December 15, 1792.

" THE National Convention, after having heard
 " the report of the united Finance, Military, and
 " Diplomatic Committees, faithful to the principles of the Sovereignty of the People, which will
 " not permit them to acknowledge any of the institutions militating against it, and willing to fix the regulations to be observed by the Generals of
 " the Armies of the Republic in those countries to which they may carry their arms, decree :

" ARTICLE I.—In those countries which are or shall be occupied by the Armies of the French Republic, the Generals shall immediately proclaim, in the name of the French Nation, the abolition of all existing imposts or contributions; of tithes; of all feudal and manorial rights, fixed or casual; of all real or personal services; of the exclusive right of hunting and fishing; of state labour; of the Nobility; and generally of all privileges :—they shall declare to the People, that they bring them peace, succours, liberty and equality." (The connection in which these last

term

terms are used serves as a glossary to explain their meaning in the new French Vocabulary, and informs mankind that peace, succours, liberty, and equality, in a Democratical sense, import hostility (oppression, slavery, and insubordination).

“ ARTICLE II.—THEY shall proclaim the Sovereignty of the People, and THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL EXISTING AUTHORITIES ; they shall then convoke the people in Primary Assemblies to create and organize a Provisionary Administration; they shall cause the present Decree, and the Proclamation hereto annexed, to be published and affixed in the language or dialect of the country, and TO BE EXECUTED without delay in every District.

“ ARTICLE III.—All the Agents and Officers of the former Government, Military or Civil, as well as the individuals lately reputed Noble, and the Members of any Corporation lately privileged, shall, for the first election only, be inadmissible to any place in the Provisional Administration or Judicial Power.

“ ARTICLE IV.—THE Generals shall forthwith place under the protection and safeguard of THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, all property, moveable or immovable, belonging to the Prince, to his voluntary abettors, adherents, or attendants; to

" the Bodies and Communities, both Civil and
 " Religious ; they shall cause to be drawn up,
 " without delay, an exact state thereof, which they
 " shall transmit to the Executive Council ; and
 " they shall take every measure in their power to
 " cause such property to be respected."

THIS may be called, with great precision, the Article providing for plunder and pillage.

THEN follows a variety of clauses, specifying further *minutiae* of this audacious plan of infringement on the independence and tranquillity of all Nations. But the last Article furnishes the clue to the whole.

" ARTICLE XI.—THE French Nation declare,
 " that IT WILL TREAT AS ENEMIES THE PEOPLE
 " WHO, REFUSING OR RENOUNCING LIBERTY AND
 " EQUALITY, ARE DESIROUS OF PRESERVING
 " THEIR PRINCE AND PRIVILEGED CASTS, OR OF
 " ENTERING INTO AN ACCOMMODATION WITH
 " THEM. The Nation promises and engages
 " not to lay down its arms until the Sovereignty and

* The reader is requested to compare this Article with the Declaration of LE BRUN, that the Convention only meant to grant assistance to a people, for the purpose of effectuating their general will, and in compliance with their express desire.

“ Liberty of the People on whose territories the
 “ French Armies shall have entered shall be estab-
 “ lished, and not to consent to any arrangement
 “ or treaty with the Princes and privileged per-
 “ sons so dispossessed, with whom the Republic
 “ is at war.”

WHILE by this Decree the Convention erects itself into a General Assembly legislating for the whole human race, we should in vain search the Annals of the World for an Edict of such rapacious, ruinous, and insulting Despotism.

HITHERTO the conduct of France has been chiefly considered as it affected the common welfare and security of all Nations. In this light Great Britain was equally interested in that conduct with other States, and came alike within the scope of French Principles and French Decrees. It would indeed be absurd to suppose that an exception was intended in favour of this Country ; though, supposing the best possible dispositions to have existed in our behalf, it surely would not be very congenial to the feelings of Englishmen to depend on the dispositions of our natural enemies, particularly after they should have over-run all Europe, and taken the entire balance into their own hands. But the fact, that England was distinctly as well as generally involved in the revolutionary plans of France,
 does

does not rest on presumption. The numerous efforts that have been recently made by our Gallic neighbours to excite the British people to insurrection, by desperate Emissaries sent for that obvious purpose—by the consignment to our ports of incendiary books (as if our own press had not been adequate to the common purposes of sedition)—and by the application of pecuniary incentives to revolt—afford convincing proofs that we were not neglected, nor meant to be deprived of our share of French Fraternity. Lest, however, such endeavours should be ascribed to the zeal of unauthorised Propagandists, the open, unreserved, and recorded communication which has subsisted between the Convention and the Agents of English sedition, completely rescues that *august* body from the charge of inattention to our separate interests. The hearty welcome bestowed by them on every Englishman who was base enough to violate his natural allegiance, and to avow himself a Traitor to his Sovereign and his Country—their cordial reception of Addresses delivered at their BAR from various British Societies formed for the obvious purpose of subverting the Constitution by the fraternal assistance of France—and the immediate and flattering responses given to those Addresses are facts of so stubborn and unequivocal a nature as to defy misconstruction, and to render evasive explanation impossible. It is due

to

to the reader to present him with some extracts from this daring and perfidious correspondence ; which, while it demonstrates that the views of France extended to the confusion and ruin of this country, will also evince that the Explanations which have been given to us by the Executive Council were founded in insincerity, and fabricated only for the purpose of delusion.

IN the month of November 1792 divers Addresses from English and Irish subjects were presented to the Convention. The spirit and object of these Addresses will sufficiently appear from the statement of a few extracts. In one dated from NEWINGTON, 31st of October 1792, and read in the Convention the 10th of November, are found the following passages :

“ ILLUSTRIOUS Senators, dear friends, enlightened Legislators, we can inform you at this day, and with the truest satisfaction, that the impious enmity so long and malignantly kept up in the hearts of a generous people towards the French Nation, by the manœuvres and intrigues of A PERFIDIOUS COURT, exists no more but in the hearts of the perverse, who profit by abuses.

“ It is with the warmest and most profound sensibility that we behold the success of your
“ arms

" arms in your undertaking to deliver from
 " slavery and despotism the brave Nations which
 " border on your Frontiers : How holy is the
 " humanity which prompts you to break their
 " chains."

THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY in London, in an Address dated the 5th of November 1792, after applauding in theory the principle that " all Nations have a right to give themselves such a form of Government as their own wisdom may suggest," very explicitly unfold their notion of the practical application of that principle in the following choice sentence :

" AND we feel an agreeable sensation in beholding that this RIGHT OF INSURRECTION has been successfully exercised in so large a country as that of the French Republic."

THIS accords perfectly with the memorable expression of one of the original promoters of the misfortunes of France, DE LA FAYETTE, viz. that " INSURRECTION IS THE MOST SACRED OF DUTIES."

AN Address to the Convention from the VOLUNTEERS OF BELFAST, dated the 6th of November, is distinguished by this devout and benevolent prayer.:

" For

“ FOR the glory of humanity, may your * Declaration of Rights be *every-where put in practice!*”

BUT the purport and tendency of these Conventional communications were displayed with much more clearness and energy in an Address read in the Convention November 7, 1792, and stiled “An Address from several Patriotic Societies in England †;” than which nothing can be better calculated to ascertain whether France really meant to give encouragement to the seditious of other Countries, or merely, according to the explanation afterwards given, to listen to “the solicitations of a “whole people” for assistance in recovering their Liberty. The following passages deserve particular notice :

“ WHILST foreign plunderers ravage your territories, *an oppressed part of mankind*, forgetting “their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and “ beholding the present events with a disturbed “eye, address their most fervent prayers to the “God of the Universe, that he may be favour-

* See post. page 44, the genuine operation of the Declaration of Rights.

† The Societies from which this Address proceeded were, The Constitutional Society of Manchester; The Society of Reform in Manchester; The Society of the Revolution in Norwich; The Constitutional Independent Whigs; Friends of the People.

" able to your cause, with which theirs is so intimately connected."

" DEGRADED by an oppressive system of inquisition, the insensible but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived this nation of its boasted Liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves ; FIVE THOUSAND ENGLISH CITIZENS, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their country from that oppression which has been thrown upon it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power."

" FRENCHMEN ! our numbers will appear very small, when compared with the rest of the nation ; but know that it increases every day ; and if the terrible and continually-elevated arm of Authority overawes the timid ; if falsehoods, every moment dispersed with so much industry, mislead the credulous ; and if the public intimacy of the Court with Frenchmen, avowed traitors to their country, hurry away the ambitious and unthinking, we can with confidence assure you, Freemen and Friends, that knowledge makes a rapid progress among us."

" ENDEAVOURING to discover our cruel enemies, we have found them in the partisans of that

" that destructive Aristocracy by which our bosom is torn ; an Aristocracy which has hitherto been the bane of all the Countries of the earth.
 " You have acted wisely in banishing it from France."

" WE see also, without concern, that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of traitors and robbers ; but the King of England will do well to remember, that England is not Hanover : **SHOULD HE FORGET THIS, WE WILL NOT FORGET IT.**"

THE reception given to the above Addresses puts it beyond all doubt, that the Convention might be justly " charged with the design of favouring the seditious of Great Britain, and of making the cause of a few private individuals that of the French nation," notwithstanding the positive denial of such design in the Explanation given by Mons. LE BRUN to the Decree of the 19th of November. The Addresses were ordered to be printed, and copies of the last (as being undoubtedly the most explicit) to be sent to the Armies and to all the Departments ; and the President of the Convention read a most favourable answer, of which it will suffice to extract one sentence—" The sentiments of 5000 Britons devoted openly to the cause of mankind, exist

" without doubt IN THE HEARTS OF ALL THE
 " FREEMEN IN ENGLAND." A comment upon
 'this expression would be an insult to the under-
 standing of the reader.

To do justice, however, to the extensive and generous views of the Convention, which have been so much narrowed and misrepresented by Mons. LE BRUN, it will be still necessary to see at their Bar the worthy English Citizens JOHN FROST and JOEL BARLOW, and to attend to the following Address pronounced by one of this *par nobile fratreum* on the 28th of November. 1792.

" CITIZENS of France, We are deputed by a
 " Patriotic Society in London, called " The Society
 " for Constitutional Information," to congratulate
 " you in its name upon the triumphs of Liberty.
 " Before the epocha of your Revolution, this So-
 " ciety employed itself but too long upon this im-
 " portant object with little hope of success.
 " Judge from thence of the transports of its gra-
 " titude, when, thanks to the wonderful efforts
 " of the French Nation, it has beheld the Empire
 " of Reason extend and strengthen itself; and
 " assure to virtuous men, by securing the happi-
 " ness of their fellow-creatures, a recompence to
 " their future labours. Innumerable Societies, of
 " the same sort, are forming themselves at this mo-
 " ment

" ment in every part of England. The minds of
 " all receive from this circumstance a general im-
 " pression, which leads them to fathom the abuses
 " of Government, and to seek the means of reme-
 " dying them—means as simple as the abuses are
 " intricate. After the example given by France,
 " Revolutions will become easy : Reason is about to
 " make a rapid progress, and it would not be ex-
 " traordinary if, in a much less space of time than
 " can be imagined, the French should send Addresses
 " of Congratulation to a National Convention of
 " England *.

" We are also instructed to acquaint the Con-
 " vention, that the Society which we represent
 " has sent 1000 pair of shoes to be presented as a
 " patriotic gift to the Soldiers of Liberty :—these
 " shoes are at Calais. The same Society will send

* Great pains are now taken to deny the existence of sedi-
 tious practices in this Country at the period in question. But
 can better evidence be required to that point, than the Declara-
 tions of those very persons who were obviously planning, in
 concert with France, the subversion of our Constitution ? who
 publicly and honestly avowed, that *innumerable Societies were*
forming themselves at that very moment upon the same principle
in every part of England ; and who were confident of the speedy
 approach of the time when the French should send Addresses to a
 National Convention of England ? After such testimony, it must
 require a remarkable construction of nerves to be able to assert,
 that the embodying of the militia and the early assembling of
 Parliament were measures of frivolous alarm, or of sinister
 design.

" 1000 pair a-week for the six next weeks, for
" the same purpose."

THIS Address from two *English Citizens* was but the precursor of another Address, which it seems those Envoys were deputed to present to the Convention from an English Society styling itself (probably by way of *antithesis*) the "Society for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION in London." The latter Address, which was read by the Secretary, contained the following striking passages :

" REPRESENTATIVES of a Sovereign People,
" and Benefactors of Mankind ! We rejoice that
" the French Revolution has arrived at that de-
" gree of perfection which will permit us to ad-
" dress you by these titles ; they are the only ones
" that can accord with the character of true Le-
" gislators.

" EVERY successive epocha in your political re-
" generation has EACH added something to the
" triumph of Liberty ; and the glorious victory
" of the 10th of August has finally prepared the
" way for a Constitution which, enlightened as
" you are, we trust will be established on the
" basis of Nature and Reason."

" THE events of every day are proving, that
" you have gained the opinion of all the Nations
" placed

“ placed near you on the Continent ; that a majority of each of those Nations is really your friends ; that their apparent enmity is only a temporary consequence of the violence exercised against them by their Governments ; and that they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the necessity of fighting against you.”

“ OUR Government has all the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hireling pens to contradict us ; but we believe, in the sincerity of our hearts, that we now speak the sentiments of a majority of the English Nation *.”

“ THE sparks of Liberty preserved in England for several ages, like the lights of Aurora Borealis, served only to discover to the rest of Europe the darkness which covered it. A stronger light, image of the real Aurora, shone forth from the bosom of the American Republic, but its distance prevented it from enlightening your hemisphere. It was necessary that the French Revolution, beaming forth in the full fervour of a meridian sun, should suddenly dispel in the midst of Europe the practical result of the principles which Philosophy had sown in the shade of meditation, and which Experience every-where confirms.”

* See page 22.

" OTHER Nations will soon follow your steps in
 " this career of improvement, and rising from
 " their lethargy, will arm themselves for the pur-
 " pose of claiming the Rights of Man, with that
 " all-powerful voice which Man cannot resist."

So far from there being any thing either in the Speech or the Address above cited at all repugnant to the *anti-feditious* views of the Convention, both were honoured with long and general applause. — The President, animated by congenial feelings, made a most encouraging reply, wherein he thus in part addressed himself to the worthy Representatives of the CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY:

" SPIRITED Children of a nation which has
 " been celebrated through the two hemispheres,
 " and which has afforded illustrious examples to
 " the universe, you offer us more than your wishes,
 " since the fate of our warriors has been thought
 " deserving of your anxiety.— Those who now de-
 " fend our liberty will one day become the de-
 " fenders of yours. You were already entitled
 " to our esteem, you are now entitled to our grati-
 " tude; and Freemen will never forget what they
 " owe to the English Nation.

" THE

" THE shades of Hampden and of Sydney
 " hover over your heads, AND THE MOMENT,
 " WITHOUT DOUBT, APPROACHES, IN WHICH
 " THE FRENCH WILL BRING CONGRATULATIONS
 " TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF GREAT
 " BRITAIN.

" GENEROUS REPUBLICANS*, your ap-
 " pearance among us prepares a subject for history.
 " That day will be noticed, in which Citizens be-
 " longing to a nation long the rival of France,
 " appeared in the midst of the Assembly of the
 " Representatives of the French People, in the
 " name of a crowd of their fellow-countrymen."

To conclude this embassy in the most respectful manner, the Deputies from the Constitutional Society were admitted to the honour of a Sitting, amidst unbounded applause; the President of the National Convention was directed to write a letter of thanks to those generous Islanders, for the patriotic gifts which they had just offered to the Armies of the Republic; the Speech, the Address, and the Answer of the President, were ordered to be printed and sent to the Eighty-three Departments, and to be tran-

* It deserves notice, that the President, in the fervour of his zeal, seems to have thought the projected English Revolution already accomplished; for he addresses the English Deputies as " REPUBLICANS."

slated into all languages ; minutes of the proceedings were also to be delivered to the Deputies, and the patriotic gift to be accepted, and transmitted to the Minister at War.

AFTER so much fraternal communication across the Channel, it was to be expected that those Englishmen whose residence at Paris afforded them an opportunity of being regularly initiated into the bloody rites of French Liberty, should offer their incense on the Altars of Anarchy. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, a Deputation from the English and Irish at Paris appeared at the bar of the Convention, and as soon as loud and long reiterated plaudits would permit, the Spokesman addressed the *August* Senate in a speech of which the following is a part :

“ CITIZEN Legislators, the British and Irish
 “ Citizens actually at Paris, constantly animated
 “ by those principles which have given birth
 “ and success to the French Revolution, assem-
 “ bled themselves last Sunday, for the purpose
 “ of celebrating the success of your arms ; and
 “ they have determined to present to you
 “ their congratulations upon events which afford
 “ so favourable an omen to those Nations who
 “ are desirous of becoming free.

“ THE

“ THE disgraceful memory of those pretended
 “ Governments, the offspring of the combined
 “ fraud of Priests and Tyrants, will in a short
 “ time alone remain.

“ OUR wishes, Citizen Legislators, render us
 “ impatient to behold the happy moment of this
 “ great change, in the hope that on its arrival we
 “ shall see an intimate union formed between the
 “ French Republic and the English Irish and
 “ Scotch Nations : nor are we alone animated by
 “ these sentiments : we doubt not that they would
 “ be equally conspicuous in the great majority of
 “ our fellow-countrymen, if the public opinion
 “ were to be consulted there, as it ought, IN
 “ A NATIONAL CONVENTION.

“ As for us who now reside at Paris, we gladly
 “ take this opportunity to declare, that during
 “ the whole course of the Revolution, and not-
 “withstanding the abrupt departure of our Am-
 “ bassador, or RATHER THE AMBASSADOR OF THE
 “ COURT OF LONDON, we have constantly experi-
 “ enced the utmost cordiality and openness, and
 “ the most sincere friendship on the part of the
 “ French Nation.”

THE President's reply contained the following
 previous and significant passage :

" PRINCIPLES are waging War against Tyranny,
 " which will fall under the blows of Philosophy.
 " Royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on
 " the point of perishing on the ruins of feoda-
 " lity; and the Declaration of Rights placed by the
 " side of Thrones, is a devouring fire which will
 " consume them * (*applauses*). Worthy Republi-
 " cans, congratulate yourselves on thinking that
 " the festival which you have made in honour
 " of the French Revolution is the prelude to
 " the festival of Nations. The Convention
 " offers you the Honours of the Sitting."

THE Deputation crossed the Hall in the midst
 of *applauses*.

IT is fair to conclude, that the English and Irish,
 from whom the last mentioned Address pro-
 ceeded, propose, as soon as their foreign educa-
 tion shall be finished, to return home and prac-
 tise the lessons they learned on the 10th of August,
 and the 2d and 3d of September 1792, and the
 other memorable days which ornament the Calen-
 dar of the French Republic.

IT merits particular notice, that, among the
 Agents employed to carry on the seditious nego-
 ciation between the disaffected English and the

* See ante page 33.

Convention, appears no less a person than Mr. LE BRUN himself—that Minister for Foreign Affairs who afterwards declared officially, in explanation of the Decree of the 19th of November, that it was foreign to the views of France, and inconsistent with the Decree of the 19th of November, to give encouragement to the seditions of other Countries, or to make the cause of a few private individuals that of the French Nation. The following extract from a letter of the above Minister, read in the Convention on the 29th of November, deserves to be produced in evidence, as well upon the question of his own sincerity in his subsequent communication with the British Government, as in further proof of the disposition of France to encourage and excite a spirit of insurrection in this country.

" It is pleasant for me to add, that this devotion to the cause of the French Republic becomes general among the English People. The Addresses which I have been directed to transmit to the National Convention are a striking proof of it. Even yesterday I received (from a Society that consecrates its time to the establishing the Empire of Liberty and Equality, and would place its happiness in being able to contribute to the Union of two Nations which have been too long enemies) a Resolution taken

" in

“ in its sitting of the 20th of this month, of which
“ the following is the translation.”

THEN follows the Resolution above referred to,
which LE BRUN so faithfully, so speedily, and so
cordially transmitted to the Convention :

“ THE Society having been informed that Mr.
“ Lyndsay is dispatched to Paris without any
“ Diplomatic Character which announces that
“ the English Ministry acknowledges the French
“ Republic ;

“ RESOLVED unanimously, That this Society de-
“ votes to the contempt, the hatred, and the in-
“ dignation of the true Friends of Liberty, the
“ Agents of a corrupt Administration, who have
“ the audacity to depute to the Ministers of a
“ Free People a person named Lyndsay, with a
“ threatening, insulting message, with the view of
“ obtaining conditions which would dishonour
“ the Majesty of the French People, and make
“ it abandon the cause of those people who are
“ ambitious of receiving from it the gift of
“ Liberty.

“ RESOLVED, That the President of the Society
“ do invite all the Friends of Equality, all the
“ Corresponding Societies in France, to employ
“ their

" their zeal, their efforts, their solicitations with
 " the Executive Council, and in particular with
 " the Citizen Minister for Foreign Affairs, that
 " they will not receive or acknowledge the info-
 " lent messenger Lyndsay, and that they will re-
 " fuse all communication with the British Cabi-
 " net, until it has acknowledged the Sovereignty
 " of the French People, and driven from the
 " Court the infamous CALONNE, that firebrand
 " and odious instigator, that intriguing friend of
 " Despotism, and malevolent Agent of an infa-
 " mous Party.

" RESOLVED also, That the Society shall con-
 " tinue its sittings twice a-week, and that thanks
 " shall be given to the Citizen DE LA CHESNAYE,
 " for his indefatigable zeal in procuring us light,
 " intelligence, and subjects of information."

To preclude all doubt as to the authenticity of
 the above communication, LE BRUN thus con-
 cludes his Letter :

" THIS Decree has been made by the Society
 " established at ROCHESTER for the Propagation
 " of the Rights of Man."

THE effect of the above Letter is considerably
 heightened by the circumstance, that the Society
 at Rochester, from which the above Resolution
 proceeded,

proceeded, was so insignificant as not to be at all known at that place ; and, after various fruitless researches, it has been found to consist only of two or three obscure individuals. But nothing that tends to insult and menace the Government of this Country is too insignificant for the fraternal notice of the Convention *.

More than sufficient has been already stated to convince the most incredulous of the hostile dispositions of France, and of her endeavours to spread among us the seeds of discord and revolt, for the purpose of subverting our Government and preparing us for the reception of French Liberty. Still, however, a kind of disguise was occasionally assumed—thread-bare and transparent indeed—but meant in some sort to cover the ultimate design, till matters should be more ripe for completion. But in a letter of Monsieur MONGE, Minister of the Marine, to the Sea-Ports, dated the 31st of December 1792, all reserve is laid aside, and the mask, which had been before alternately taken off and resumed, is thrown quite away.

**EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE MINISTER
OF MARINE TO THE SEA PORTS, DATED PARIS,
DEC. 31, 1792.**

“ THE Government of England is arming,
“ and the King of Spain, encouraged by this, is

* See Note [A] page 74.

“ preparing

" preparing to attack us. These two Tyrannical
 " Powers, after persecuting the Patriots on their
 " own Territories, think, no doubt, that they
 " shall be able to influence the judgment to be
 " pronounced on the Traitor Louis. They hope
 " to frighten us : but no ; a People who has
 " made itself free ; a People who has driven out
 " of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant
 " borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the
 " Prussians and Austrians ; the People of France
 " will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by
 " any Tyrant.

" THE KING AND HIS PARLIAMENT MEAN TO
 " MAKE WAR AGAINST US. Will the ENGLISH RE-
 " PUBLICANS suffer it ? Already these free men shew
 " their discontent, and the repugnance which they
 " have to bear arms against their Brothers, the
 " French. Well ! we will fly to their succour :
 " we will make a descent in the Island : we will
 " lodge there Fifty Thousand Caps of Liberty :
 " we will plant there the sacred tree : and we
 " will stretch out our arms to our REPUBLICAN
 " Brethren. The tyranny of their Government
 " will soon be destroyed. Let every one of us be
 " strongly impressed with this idea.

(Signed) " M O N G E."

H

AFTER

After such accumulated evidence of the unbounded ambition of France in general, and of her particular views of aggression and hostility against Great Britain, the Government of this country would have shewn itself a very inattentive guardian of the National honour and interests, if it had suffered itself to be entrapped into confidence and supineness by the delusory explanations of Monsieur CHAUVELIN and the Executive Council ; explanations calculated only to amuse, and which could not have been accepted without affording a sanction to those principles and proceedings which had given such ground for offence and alarm. There never was a period, at all distinguished for its importance, when the *general line of duty* was so plain on the part of Administration. No room was left for option, nor even for deliberation, as to the part to be taken ; and it is necessary to look to the specific measures which have been adopted, to do justice to that wisdom and firmness, to that spirit, vigour, and ability, which have been so prosperously exerted on the most critical, trying, and perilous occasion that this Country has ever experienced. The conduct of France had been so daring, insulting, and aggressive, and the avowed principles of that conduct were so subversive of the harmony and quiet of Europe in general, as well as of the safety, order, and independence of every distinct State,

State, that no explanation or disavowal could afford satisfaction for the past, or security for the future. Any thing short of a revocation of the obnoxious Decrees—a dereliction of the conquered territories—a recall of the French armies—an express renunciation of all views of aggrandizement and aggression, of all right to violate or disturb subsisting Treaties, and of all claims to interfere, upon any pretence, in the internal concerns of other Countries —any thing short of this would have left the political system and the domestic tranquillity of all Europe at the mercy of a people who had disclaimed all restraints of honour and justice, whose ambition was only rivalled by their perfidy, and whose insolence, increasing with their success, had arrogated the imperious right of dictating to the whole world.

BUT so far from any disposition being manifested by the persons exercising the Supreme Power in France to make the above necessary concessions, they maintain, even in their explanations with this Country, the injurious principles upon which they had acted, and of which we had complained. They insist, with only an artful and evasive change of terms, on a right to regulate all other Governments, in a supposititious case, of which they make themselves the sole judges. By defending their unprovoked aggression on Holland (a

neutral Power, and an ally of Great Britain) in the affair of the Scheldt, they avow a claim of annulling at pleasure the most solemn and binding Treaties, and of violating the rights even of neutral Nations. They persist in this aggression, and declare their intention to continue so to do without any redress, not merely during their war with another Power, but till a period the most indefinite and undefinable shall arrive, “the consolidation of the ‘Liberty of the Belgians.’” They even menace * War, if such explanations as these should be deemed by us insufficient—if our language in return thereto should be such as they may chuse to call haughty—or if we should even presume to put ourselves in a posture of defence; while France with an armed force of half a million of men at her command (not to mention her naval preparations) was over-running a great part of Europe, and making daily additions to her immense territories. To render these conciliatory advances complete, they are followed by the insolent menace of † appealing to the People against the lawful Government of Great Britain.

* See Le Brun’s Memorial, delivered to Lord Grenville by Monsieur Chatvelin, January 13, 1793.

† Le Brun, in his Report to the Convention on the 19th of December 1792, says, “ We will not fail to make a solemn ‘ appeal to the English Nation :’ ” a suggestion which did not fail to produce great applause.

WHERE had been the spirit and the dignity of this Country, if such insolence had been received with complacency, and returned with submission? No one who has a British heart in his bosom will, in any possible event, remember with regret that we did not bend the knee to the insolent upstart usurpers of France, who had acquired their power by sanguinary violence, who retain it by the influence of terror, and employ it in deeds at which Humanity stands aghast. Still, however, while dignity characterized our Councils, and firmness distinguished our measures—while we declared our resolution to accept no terms but such as would restore tranquillity and security to Europe, and preserve the independence of its respective States—and while we persevered with unremitting activity in forwarding those preparations the necessity of which has been since sufficiently evinced—it is pleasing to reflect, that we displayed a readiness, even to the last, to avert the calamities of war, and to hearken to any proposals which might be consistent with the indispensable objects we had in view. Thus Lord GRENVILLE, in his Answer of the 31st of December to the Note presented by Monsieur CHAUVELIN, says, “ It would have been “ with pleasure that we should have seen here such “ explanations, and such a conduct, as would have “ satisfied the dignity and honour of England
“ with

" with respect to what has already passed, and
 " would have offered a sufficient security in
 " future for the maintenance of that respect
 " towards the Rights, the Government, and the
 " Tranquillity of Neutral Powers, which they
 " have on every account the right to expect." And even at the moment immediately previous to the commencement of hostilities, Lord AUCKLAND at the *Hague* received directions from his Majesty to accede to the proposal of DUMOURIER for a conference on a particular day ; though that scheme was altogether frustrated by the unrestrainable eagerness of the Convention to begin the war : a strong proof of the impossibility of negotiating with an Assembly so rash and precipitate in its resolves, and so regardless of every established form and rule. In short, while nothing was omitted on our part in the way of necessary preparation for an event which, from the conduct of France, seemed at least more than probable, so nothing consistent with national honour and sound policy was neglected to obviate the necessity of that event ; nor has a measure been adopted by us which was not either a requisite precaution for our immediate security, or necessary to preserve that character and consequence as a people, without which no security can long subsist.

THE recall of Lord GOWER when his mission was *ipso facto* determined—and that by events of so shocking a nature, that it would have ill become a liberal and civilized nation to have sanctioned them by the presence of an Ambassador—the restrictions laid on the exportation of corn to France, when we could not have supplied the wants of that country without exposing ourselves to distress ; and when also we knew that Jacobin Emissaries, the Propagandists of Insurrection, would have joyfully reduced us to scarcity, with a view of involving us in confusion—the regulations of the Alien Bill, when numbers of desperate and blood stained Frenchmen were daily flocking here for the most mischievous and horrid purposes—the omission to acknowledge a Republic which existed only in name, which possessed no kind of settled Government, no powers but what were provisional, and not even the faintest trace of a Constitution—the refusal to send an Ambassador to the Ephemeral Authorities in France, and to commit the Royal Dignity by exposing the confidential Plenipo of the British Crown to a contested Embassy with the accredited Envoys of seditious English Clubs—and, finally, the dismission of Monsieur CHAUVELIN, when by the death of his master he was become a private individual ;

individual (though he appeared willing to lend himself to any masters, or for any services ; and even to obey the Regicides of his Sovereign, whose commission he had borne, and whose favours had been heaped upon him from his infancy) ;—these measures, however they may be represented by the Demagogues of France, or by the factions of England, as acts of aggression, were clearly founded in sound policy and obvious prudence.

IT is true, the Declaration of War by France was accompanied with other reasons of a still more futile nature—such as our prudent precaution in guarding against the most unstable, precarious, and ill-founded, of all paper currency, French Assignats—our observing the outward testimonials of respect customary upon the death of a Foreign Sovereign, notwithstanding, in the particular instance, that Sovereign was termed by the Convention a Tyrant, and his death produced by foul rebellion, glaring injustice, and ferocious cruelty—with divers other pretences equally frivolous and absurd—so much so, indeed, that the small party in this country which loses no opportunity of vindicating French principles and politics, and of criminating the measures of

Great

Great Britain, have found it impossible to dignify these pretended provocations with serious notice.

In a Declaration of War so founded, supported, and explained, it is impossible not to trace that decided pre-determination for hostility which is never at a loss for pretences to disturb the peace of Nations. But though the Declaration, taken by itself, is deficient in assigning any motives at all adequate to its object, yet when viewed in connection with the previous conduct of France, it will appear perfectly consistent and intelligible. A single glimpse of the system of Fraternity—the arrogant Decrees—the insulting language used by the Convention, by French Ministers and Clubs—the notorious communication with the seditious of this Country—the vengeance vowed against Monarchy in general—and the audacious menaces thrown out against our own gracious Sovereign *—a single glimpse of these things dispels all obscurity, and places the Declaration of War, with its grounds, its motives, and its objects, in full and open day.

* It has been said in the Convention by Danton, that “ they had thrown down a King’s head as a gauntlet to the Kings of Europe, and that the scaffolds erected in Westminster Hall for the eternal trial of Mr. Hastings, would serve for the Ministers and even for ***** himself.

NOWWITHSTANDING such a series of unprovoked, insolent, and intolerable aggressions on the part of France, followed up by a Declaration of War, and a most * perfidious commencement of hostilities, it is curious to see the Convention claim the merit of having exhausted all means compatible with the DIGNITY OF THE REPUBLIC to avoid extremities. After what has passed, indeed, nothing which that Assembly can say or do is capable of exciting surprize. But it is truly astonishing that Englishmen should be found who are daring enough to contend that we are the aggressors in hostility; and who, in all their reasonings upon the subject, chuse to take it for granted, that the *onus* lies upon us to justify the war.

AFTER the generous and magnanimous neutrality which this Country had observed from the commencement of the Revolution, no evidence can surely be wanted to prove, that Great Britain was far from being disposed to interfere in the internal concerns of France. That neutrality was just and honourable. But because we have the generosity to refrain from taking advantage of the distresses of others, are we to

* See Note [B] page 76.

have

have the timidity and meanness to submit to any insult or injury with which they may have the ingratitude to reward us ? Should we, in the full enjoyment of all the advantages of a regular Government, and of a free, a happy, a long-established and much-beloved Constitution, allow *them* that right of meddling in our domestic affairs which we did not think ourselves intitled to with respect to them, though a prey to confusion and anarchy ? Should we sacrifice all our dignity and consequence, and tamely submit to see our rights, and those of our allies, trampled upon—our internal tranquillity invaded—our Government, our Constitution, and our King, menaced and insulted—and all the sources of our own security, as well as of that of all Europe, cut off? or, Should we shew that the same spirit which is just and generous, is also, upon proper occasions, firm, intrepid, and brave?

THE question, Whether it has been in the power of Great Britain on any terms to prevent actual hostilities? may excite the curiosity of a Speculist, but can furnish no important ground of inquiry for the Politician. For it is clear beyond all controversy, that War was only to be averted by means incompatible in every view with the dignity and permanent interests of this

Country. To have purchased a continuance of peace, we must have brooked past insults, and thereby have courted fresh ones—we must have connived at the unbounded projects of French Ambition, the alarming progress of French Arms, and the still more alarming propagation of French Principles—we must have abandoned the interests of our Allies, broken our faith to them, renounced the obligation of Treaties, and given up our weight in the scale of Europe—finally, after having, in compliance with the requisition of LE BRUN, discontinued our preparations, we must have waited patiently for our own turn to be fraternized ; and perhaps we might have been at length admitted to the honour of becoming a Department of France.

BUT it is pretended by those who plead the cause of France, that we have not made a fair trial of the effect of negociation ; that the disposition shewn by the Convention to treat has been thwarted by the fastidious distance preserved by the English Government ; and that during the intercourse which took place by way of negociation, we neglected to specify with sufficient clearness and precision the nature and extent of our demands ; from all which it is attempted to be inferred, that

that it is impossible now to say what might have been the result, if we had manifested a more conciliatory disposition. A perusal however of the Papers which have passed between the British Ministry and the Agents of the Convention will convince every one (unless determined not to be convinced), that a negociation has existed which was adequate to every object that a negociation could obtain; that the deviation from accustomed forms, with which that negociation was accompanied, did not create any difficulty, nor even constitute any part of the question discussed; that the refusal on our part to send and receive a formal Ambassador (whether that refusal was in other respects right or wrong) did not prevent a full and complete understanding of each other's sentiments and views; that the point of *etiquette* was surmounted; and that the channel of discussion *pro hac vice* was as open as if mutual Embassies had existed in all their forms. The language of Lord GRENVILLE was also precise and intelligible as to the grounds of complaint on the part of England. In his Memorial, wherein precision and clearness seem to vie with manly sense and British energy, the three causes of dissatisfaction arising from the Decree of the 19th of November—from the infraction of Treaties, the aggression upon our Ally, and the violation of neutrality

in the affair of the Scheldt *—and from the views of aggrandisement manifested by France, were detailed in terms the most explicit. Even upon the last of the three points, which in its nature was most liable to ambiguity and misunderstanding, can any thing be more pointed and specific than the following passages in his Lordship's Letter of the 31st of December?

“ THIS Government, adhering to the maxims
 “ which it has followed for more than a century,
 “ will never see with indifference, that France
 “ shall make herself, *either directly or indirectly,*
 “ Sovereign of the Low Countries, or general
 “ Arbitres of the Rights and Liberties of
 “ Europe.

* Much has been said by some persons about the trifling importance of the Navigation of the Scheldt when put in competition with the horrors and calamities of war. But those who argue in this way are careful not to take into the account the consequence of recognizing France as the Sovereign Arbiter of Treaties, to confirm, invalidate, and dissolve them at pleasure; or, which is precisely the same thing, according to her own pretended notions of natural rights. That, however, is the true point in question in the affair of the Scheldt: and that being the case, the consideration of value is irrelevant: nor could we submit to one such precedent, however minute the instance, without being pledged to the recognition of the injurious principle on which it is founded.

" IF France is really desirous of maintaining
 " friendship and peace with England, she must
 " shew herself disposed to renounce her views of
 " aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine
 " herself within her own Territories, without
 " insulting other Governments, without disturbing
 " their Tranquillity, without violating their
 " Rights."

ANY one is free to contend, that these demands were exorbitant, but no one can deny that they were explicit. On the other hand, the answers and explanations of France, however evasive, sufficiently indicated a determination to refuse all satisfaction with respect to any one of the points in dispute : and to put the matter out of all doubt, the French Minister gave in his *ultimatum*, declaring, that if we did not accept the explanations then offered (trifling and evasive as they were), France would consider itself at war with England. Could any negotiation have produced more decisive language than this ? Could any Treaty have gone beyond an *ultimatum* ? Could any discussion have terminated in a more precise point than that where one party says to another, " You must either accept my answer, such as it is, and sit down quiet and satisfied, or war shall ensue ? " It would be the height of absurdity to pretend, that the most polished refinement

refinement and splendid superficial of diplomatic intercourse could have produced a different result. Is there any one who can believe for a moment, that France would have changed her system, renounced her plans, relinquished her principles, abandoned her conquests, and sacrificed all her successes, out of compliment to a few forms ? or, Is it credible that she would have accorded to our meanness and timidity what she refused to concede to our dignity and firmness ?

THE circumstance of France having been willing to negotiate and explain, notwithstanding the interruption of all regular intercourse with our Government, is relied on, and it is all that can be relied on, in favour of the supposition that she was disposed to pursue pacific measures with Great Britain. But was it not an important and desirable object for her to be permitted to pursue, without any impediment from us, her schemes of conquest and aggrandisement ? To attain that object by explanations tending to cast a mist over our just grounds of complaint, to conceal her principles and her objects under a specious veil of imposing epithets, and to render the idea of war unpopular in this country, was certainly worth the experiment. However difficult it might be to deceive the vigilance and penetration

penetration of the British Government, it might be thought not impossible to impose on the good sense or the honest feelings of the British people, at least with the assistance of those persons among us who were ready to adopt and re-echo every kind of argumentative fallacy that could be suggested by Gallic craft. The artifice has failed before the spirit and discernment of this Country; and it is now plain, both from the progress and the result of the negociation, that no satisfaction whatever was intended, or could have been obtained.

C O N C L U S I O N.

THE foregoing review of the transactions leading to the War in which we are now engaged, suggests a variety of important and useful reflections:

No instance has ever yet occurred in which War was attended with such solid and satisfactory grounds for consolation as we are at present entitled to; nor with such cogent motives for exertion and unanimity, as should stimulate us in its pursuit. We may reflect with satisfaction, not merely that it was unsought by us, but that it was out of our power to avoid it;

at least without an entire sacrifice of our National consequence and respectability, and of our faith and honour as a People ; and that even by such a sacrifice we should in all appearance have only warded it off for the moment, and have had to encounter it hereafter under circumstances infinitely more disadvantageous. We may also reflect with some degree of satisfaction, that the calamities of war, great as they are, fall vastly short of those which stared us in the face, if we had purchased present peace on the terms which alone afforded us any chance of preserving it.

THE questions, therefore, which are so current in the mouths of some men, What can we gain—what may we not lose by the war? are calculated only to mislead, and to excite an unfair prejudice. These questions falsely assume that we have had an option, and that war has been our deliberate choice. But nothing can be more obvious than that the war, both in form and in substance, is, on our part, A WAR OF DEFENCE. If, upon a calculation of profit and loss, we had resolved on hostilities, we should then have been charged by these very Querists with carrying on war as a trade, and with speculating in the lives of men.

BUT, even to such enquiries it may be satisfactorily answered, that if the prosperity of the country

country is such as leaves us nothing to wish for, nothing further to attain, the object of the War is no less than to preserve and secure whatever we now possess ; or, to borrow the energetic language of Mr. Powys, “ we may gain by war all that “ we should lose if we did not engage in it.” Every thing which is and ought to be dear to us —our foreign consequence—our political weight —our national honour and independence—our domestic tranquillity—our civil Rights—and, to sum up all in one word, OUR HAPPY CONSTITUTION, the source of all our greatness and of all our welfare, has been insulted, menaced, and attacked.—We are hurried into a war, because we did not chuse to abandon these advantages ; and it is NOW BY WAR ALONE THAT WE CAN PLACE THEM OUT OF THE REACH OF FURTHER INSULT. Let *that* consideration animate us to exertion ; let it call forth all our energy—and let every one forego the name, as he must disgrace the character of an Englishman, who would harbour a thought of peace until the objects of the war be completely attained and secured.

IMPORTANT however as the war is in its object, and just in its principle, the most illiberal endeavours are made to enhance its difficulties, to depreciate its advantages, to darken its prospects, and to render it odious and unpopular. The inconveniencies actually occasioned by the

war are not only exaggerated, but mischiefs are ascribed to it which arose from other sources, and which it had no share in producing. Thus, while *public* credit sustains itself with almost unprecedented vigour, the war is most absurdly charged with the distresses of *private* credit—distresses which arose from the adventurous rashness of commercial speculation, and which were foreseen by many long before an idea of war was entertained. That war is a grievous and distressing calamity, ever productive of inconvenience and subject to disaster, none will attempt to dispute; but that in which we are engaged has the justest possible claim to our manly and patriotic cheerfulness under its burthens and difficulties, whatever they may be. For supposing the distresses of the war to exceed all that is suggested by craft or predicted by fear, still they would bear no kind of competition with those evils which it is the object of the war to avoid, and which can only be prevented by its success.

It is not, however, by selfish considerations solely that we are called to exertion in the present war. The cause in which we are engaged is not partial, but general; not the cause of one, but of all.—It does not merely concern the separate interests

rests of individual States, but the common interests of all States.—Upon its success depends the welfare of Europe, and perhaps of the whole World : upon its success depend the important questions, Whether Government shall exist—Whether Religion shall retain any influence in social life—Whether laws shall continue to bind, and Justice be anywhere administered—Whether, in short, any link of the social chain shall be preserved unbroken ?—or, Whether mankind shall be uncivilized, and reduced to a state of more than Gothic barbarism, and the whole of this Quarter of the Globe, like France, become at once the licensed Theatre of every crime ?

WHEN consequences of such magnitude depend upon the fate of our arms, it should excite our gratitude to Divine Providence to be able to reflect, at such a period, on the wealth and prosperity of the Nation—the extent of its resources—the strength and excellent condition of its natural bulwark, the Navy—the intrepid bravery of its Sea and Land Forces—the harmony of its People—the energy of their character—and their zealous, unalterable, and rational attachment both to the person of their Sovereign and to the Constitution of their Country. Our wonderful and almost miraculous progress in a short period of time from distress and weakness to unprecedented strength and prosperity, seems intended by the All-wise Disposer

Disposer of Events as the means not only of our own preservation, but of restoring order and tranquillity to other Countries.

BUT with all our own advantages, it is indispensably necessary that we should avail ourselves fully of the assistance and co-operation of the other Powers now engaged with us in the same contest. Our interest is closely linked with theirs in the event of that contest. We were not menaced till they were defeated ; but no sooner was the cause of France distinguished by success against them, than her insolence broke out in those daring outrages which have so justly excited our alarm and our indignation. A continuation of that success would only render her more formidable, more insolent, and more aspiring. Should she prevail in making them a prey to her ambition, we might then find her, with such an accession of strength, even an overmatch for ourselves ; and it would be too much to hope, that we should escape the vortex which had swallowed up the rest of Europe.

INDEED, the common welfare and security of all nations call loudly for the exertion of their united efforts, before it be too late, to check the progress, to chastise the insolence, and to repel the ambition of France. The best interests of humanity—the well being, the existence of society are at stake.

stake. A common enemy should be resisted by united force. It is alike the interest of every Government and of every people to oppose the dissemination of principles which strike at the root of all established Government, which tend to subvert all constituted authority, and to destroy that necessary subordination which is the very basis of society.

IT is, in all human probability, a most fortunate circumstance for the happiness of mankind, that France has so openly displayed that intemperate spirit of universal aggression by which she was actuated, and which has at once connected all other States in the same interest, and drove them to mutual co-operation in their common defence. There is every reason to conclude, that, notwithstanding all the additional strength she derives from her maniacal rage, she must be repelled by the collective force she has so rashly provoked.—A little more policy on her part might have rendered her infinitely more formidable;—but happily extreme wickedness is in general as distant from prudence as it is from virtue; and of that devoted people it may apparently be said with more than poetical justice, “*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*”

THE success, however, of the great cause in which so many nations are engaged, and which involves their dearest interests, depends upon their acting together in a firm and well-cemented union. They are inseparably connected in the same fate
—they

--they must succeed or fall together. Till their common object be obtained—till their general security be effected, they should form an indissoluble phalanx. The language of those who call this a combination of Despots to oppose the progress of Liberty, is as absurd as it is designing and mischievous. Where the object is to escape destruction, wisdom justifies alliances, connections, and plans, which would, perhaps, in another case be inexpedient. But even the cause of Freedom calls for the greatest possible exertions to crush that anarchy which France is endeavouring to render universal. By such exertions only can the avenues of salutary political liberty be kept open, either for herself or the rest of the world. That unhappy country was never in any period of its history apparently so far removed from the acquisition of Liberty as at present ; though, like the madman, she fancies herself in full and exclusive possession of it—and ravingly exults in the distempered idea, while her phrenzy alone would incapacitate her from enjoying the reality * : and as to other countries, the harmony of the general system must be restored,

* Nothing can more strongly prove the delusion of this wretched people, than the circumstance of their glorying in their ideal Sovereignty, and believing that they enjoy the boasted privilege of being free to chuse their own Government ; while, by a subsisting Decree, they are forbidden, under pain of death, to propose the restoration of Monarchy.

before the Sun of Freedom can generally diffuse his benign and vivifying radiance. It was never intended for France to be the sun or the centre of that system. Her attempts to become so, have already produced dreadful confusion ; and the balance must be regained, by confining her to her proper orbit, or universal chaos must ensue.

In every point of view, therefore, the present safety, as well as the future and permanent welfare of all Europe, call at this juncture for its combined and vigorous efforts to crush the ambitious projects of France—and to preserve those common interests of all States, without which no State can improve, or even retain its separate rights and advantages.

It is clearly for the happiness of every people —nay even of the deluded people of France, that such a confederacy should be formed, and that it should prove successful. For when, by such means, the independence of States, with the obligation of Treaties, and of the Laws of Nations, shall be restored ; the Anarchy of France, deprived of its necessary fuel, must be extinguished, and give place to regular and legitimate Government ; —which will of course respect other Governments, and recognize those principles that are indispensable to general order and harmony.

L

IN

IN such a confederacy it well becomes the GENIUS of BRITAIN to preside. The Guardian Genius of this favoured Isle, the seat of genuine Freedom, and the Temple of Humanity, can never be more auspiciously engaged than in vanquishing the Fiend of Discord and Anarchy—and thereby restoring TRANQUILLITY TO NATIONS AND HAPPINESS TO MAN.

NOTES to Pages 48, and 58,

P. 48. [A] The extracts above presented to the Reader display in a striking manner the open encouragement afforded by France to the disaffected part of the British Nation. Such extracts therefore, as they relate to acts of gross insult and direct aggression, are closely in point upon an inquiry respecting “the Real Grounds of the War :” but from a paper signed by CONDORCET, and published in the Chronicle of Paris on the 23d of November 1792, it appears, that our inveterate Gallie foes did not rely solely for the success of their incendiary plans upon the *direct* efforts of sedition, but that they depended also upon the more cautious machinations of those persons who, under the pretence of Reform, sought to undermine the very foundations of the Constitution. The following passages of the paper alluded to deserve particular notice, as they contain a very useful warning to the people of this country :

“ Since the explosion of Liberty in France, a hollow ferment has shewn itself in England, and has more than once disconcerted all the Ministerial operations. Popular Societies have been established in the three Kingdoms, and a Parliamentary Reform has been talked of, just in the same manner

" manner as, at the end of the year 1788, we (in France)
 " talked of the necessity of calling together the States General:
 " It is well known what a number of persons there are
 " who think rightly, and daily enlighten the people of
 " England, and whose opinions furnish subjects for useful
 " disputation. This people, who at once fear and desire
 " such a Revolution as ours, will necessarily be drawn
 " along by those courageous and enlightened persons who
 " always determine the first steps; the opening of the Session of
 " Parliament, which approaches, will infallibly become the occa-
 " sion of the reforms which are the most urgent; such as those
 " which regard the National Representation—FROM THENCE
 " TO THE ENTIRE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLIC."

The advocates for Parliamentary Reform always leave us in
 the dark (those who mean well are in the dark them-
 selves) respecting the final extent of their plans. Eager to
 begin the great work, they studiously keep out of view the
 important consideration *how it may end*. CONDORCET is much
 more explicit. He unfolds at once the plot and the
dénouement—and candidly traces the progress of Reform to
 the catastrophe of "the entire establishment of a
 " REPUBLIC."

P. 58. [B] The arrogance and injustice of France in ex-
 citing war, can only be equalled by the base and perfidious
 means she employs in its prosecution. She seeks by treachery
 to deprive her opponents of every mode of fair defence; and,
 instead of relying on the vigour of her efforts or the valour
 of her troops, she endeavours to make the contest unequal by
 throwing off every restraint of honour and principle, and
 disregarding those ties by which the rest of mankind deem
 themselves bound. Thus did she not only begin the war
 by seizing those English vessels which had entered her
 ports in confidence, and which were therefore entitled to
 the protection of the laws of Nations, but also by a solemn

Decree, she holds out a temptation to the British Sailors to become traitors and pirates, by carrying the vessels they are engaged to defend into French ports. Indeed, the present war, in every point of view, is remarkably distinguished from all wars which have ever preceded it. Never did any Belligerent Power pursue objects so extensively and irreparably ruinous as those *avowed* by France, nor resort to such means to attain success as that country has the baseness to employ. It is, therefore, absurd to reason, in the present instance, from analogy to former wars. New evils must be encountered by new remedies ; and though this Country will never lose sight of those principles of honour, urbanity, and justice, by which it has ever been distinguished, yet at this moment prudence and self-preservation call for novel and extraordinary exertions, adapted to the exigency of the case.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE circumstances which gave rise to the present War are so novel and unprecedented, that some persons have attempted to infer that it is not attended with any precise object; and those who were for endeavouring to avert it by the entire sacrifice of our dignity, honour, and national consequence, begin to be clamorous for its conclusion, now that the French are driven out of Holland and the Austrian Netherlands. But it is impossible to advert to the transactions which preceded, and the causes which produced the War, without seeing that it has an object as precise as it is important, and that this object is neither more nor less than SECURITY. But as *partial* security cannot exist, we are interested in providing for *that* of all Europe against the restless, turbulent, and incendiary spirit of French Revolutionists.

IN pursuit of so important an object, one thing is extremely plain, that the security we seek to establish can never be obtained until there be some regular, stable, and efficient Government in France.

France. The unprincipled, tumultuary, and unorganized factions which domineer at present over that unfortunate country, can never be admitted as parties in any treaty by which the rights, interests, and tranquillity of nations are to be regulated and secured. After assuming a power superior to the obligation of treaties, how can they be depended upon for the performance of any terms into which they might enter? After denying, both in their principles and their conduct, the authority of the law of nations, to what sanction could any stipulations made by them be referred but their own arbitrary and capricious will? It would be the merest farce to treat with a Power which avows no other rule of conduct than "*Sic volo—sic jubeo—stet pro ratione voluntas.*" The strong and numerous proofs they have given of their perfidy, of their entire disregard to every principle of honour and justice, and to every established form and rule, must debar them of all confidence with civilized States. Besides, with what dignity, with what decency, could any Government negociate with men whose lives are due to Justice for the most atrocious offences that have ever stained the annals of the world?—with a set of banditti who have been the scourge, not only of their own country but of the whole human race, and who hold their illegitimate power by a

tenure

tenure as precarious as it is unjust? What would be the effect of a peace concluded with such men, but to leave them at liberty to resume their revolutionary schemes, their incendiary conspiracies, and their projects of universal confusion? Were it possible for Great Britain to have the meanness to withdraw herself from the Confederacy of which she forms a part, and of which she ought to be the animating soul, before the grand object of general security be attained, the common foe would instantly derive fresh courage and vigour, the horrid baneful cause of Gallic Liberty and Equality would revive, and savage Fraternity would again expand its destructive arms to embrace distant regions in its fatal clasp. Such dangers must not be permitted to recur; hereafter they might not be so effectually resisted as they may now. The advantages already obtained, far from inclining us to relax, should stimulate us to such further exertions as may eradicate the evil, which is as contagious as it is malignant.

NOTHING, in short, can warrant us to expect that security and tranquillity which have been so much endangered, but the entire downfall of that anarchical Power, which being erected in

France

France upon the ruins of Government and Order, seeks to extend its Empire over the Globe ; and which, among the calamities produced by it, has excited a general War. To sheath the sword before that Power is completely demolished, would be to confirm its authority, to strengthen its influence, and to invite its ravages. No terms can be made with a Power, the existence of which is incompatible with the safety and quiet of the rest of the world ; and which, wherever it resides, must be the centre of confusion and the focus of anarchy. But to suffer it to be established in a country like France, and to have the resources of such a country at its command, would be to set at defiance the plainest dictates of wisdom, and the most forcible suggestions of experience.

THE doctrine now contended for by no means implies a right in one country to interfere in the internal concerns of another. But France has adopted a system which is as mischievous to her neighbours as to herself ; a system, by which the rights and interests of other nations are not only inseparably connected with her own, but are also made

made subservient to her will. It therefore behoves other nations, in their own defence, to destroy that system root and branch ; and by so doing they no more assume a right of regulating the internal affairs of France, than a man who insists on extinguishing a fire, in a house adjoining to his own dwelling, can be said to regulate the domestic concerns of his neighbour's family.

AMIDST all the vicissitudes with which the fortune of the War is chequered, it cannot fail to excite satisfaction in every English bosom, to reflect, that the honour of the Nation has not been tarnished, by listening to the degrading proposal of conciliating the regards of the Convention. Supposing that any man in this Country, fit to represent the Crown of Great Britain, would have accepted of a mission to that assembly of traitors and regicides—supposing that by so humiliating a step the blessings of peace could have been preserved (a supposition alike repugnant to reason and observation), the country would have incurred indelible disgrace, its alliance would from that moment have ceased to be respectable, and it would have attracted the scorn and contempt of every other Power in Europe—even of those Powers who have themselves dishonoured Society by their neutrality towards its implacable foes. The case

of Cromwell has been much relied on to justify the abasing proposal to recognize the nominal Republic of France. But Cromwell, though an usurper, knew how to make his own Government respected, and to respect other Governments ; in both which particulars he widely differed from the usurpers of France.

THE moment will be as critical as important, when the Combined Arms shall have effected the deliverance of the French People from their fell and sanguinary Tyrants. Many, very many years must indeed elapse, before the ravages of the Revolution can be repaired, and generations yet unborn will taste the bitter fruits of the pestiferous Tree of Liberty. But without extending our views so far, the task of establishing order in France will be unspeakably arduous. The dangers to be avoided will be as great as the evils to be removed. The malady is not of a nature to admit of palliatives, and a relapse will be inevitably fatal. It is the part of wisdom to anticipate the difficulties of *that* moment, in order to be the better prepared to encounter them : for woe to Europe and to Society, if, for want of a complete remedy, the opportunity, whenever it shall occur, be suffered to escape.

MISCHIEFS of an enormous magnitude are to be removed—but that is not all; the greatest caution is necessary to prevent their being reproduced. It will not avail to do away consequences, if causes be suffered to remain. The evil must therefore be traced to its source—the wound must be probed to the bottom, and a radical cure must be begun before France can be in a state of convalescence. The present horrid Convention grew out of a Legislative Assembly, and *that* out of a Constituent Assembly; and *that* paved the way for all the evils which have followed by the adoption and propagation of principles destructive of all Order and Government, and incompatible with a state of society *. The wild speculations, the baneful philosophy, disseminated with such industry at the commencement of the Revolution, were the germ of all those miseries and horrors which have since grown up in so plenteous a crop. A Declaration of visionary, absurd, and impracticable Rights has been the Charter of Licentiousness and Anarchy; and the attempt to realize the preposterous notion, that the Sovereignty resides in the People, and can be exercised by them, has given

* The attachment of these mushroom and self-constituted Legislators to their crude and fanciful systems was remarkably exemplified in an expression of one of the leading Members of the first Legislative Assembly, viz. “*Perissent plutot les colonies qu'un principe.*—Rather let the colonies perish than a single principle.”—After such a specimen, who can be surprized at the calamities of France?

rise to the most cruel and oppressive tyranny that ever existed. In order to provide for the future happiness of France, the road that led to her present misery must be studiously avoided. The same causes would again produce the same effects, and it would be in vain that the Convention were extirpated, if any thing like the preceding Assemblies were restored, or their principles adopted. It would be in vain the heads of the Hydra were cut off; other heads would soon sprout up still more voracious than their predecessors: the vitals of the monster must be pierced, and its renovating power destroyed—the whole fabrick of the Revolution must be demolished, its foundations razed, and the rubbish swept away—Departments, Districts, Cantons, Municipalities, and Clubs, the whole system, in short, of organized disorder must be annihilated, before France can begin to recover her tranquillity or recruit her natural strength. The ancient division, the provincial boundaries of France must be restored—an immense debt of justice must be discharged both to the oppressor and the oppressed—the fictitious Rights of Man must give way to the real Rights of Nature and the Duties of Subjects—the voice of Religion must be once more revered—the authority of the Laws respected and the sanctions of Morality enforced—the Throne and the Altar must be again erected—Society must

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be again arranged in due gradations, its various ranks and orders must be replaced, and a POWER must be established of sufficient strength to connect the whole, and to maintain the parts in their proper places.

IT seems almost incredible that any person should be desirous of again resorting to the speculative Constitution begun by the National Assembly in the year 1789 ;—a Constitution which was a mere fabrick of fancy, formed upon no model of experience, plentifully glossed over indeed with metaphysical varnish, but so loose, disjointed, and inapplicable, that it fell to pieces as soon as it was tried : a Constitution which exhibits a separation of the parts of Government, without either a connecting or a balancing principle—an Executive Magistrate without strength to enforce the execution of the laws—a Monarchy without means of defending the Crown—and a phantom of Royalty set up to be insulted and degraded at the pleasure of the multitude : in short, a Constitution which, besides its practical defects, was founded upon the absurd principle, that those to govern should be subordinate, and those to be governed supreme. It required no great degree of discernment to discover at once that such a system, like an inverted pyramid, would quickly fall. But after

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the experiment has failed, after it has not only failed but been followed by such tremendous consequences, what friend to Humanity would wish to see it repeated ? The people of France, corrupted as they now are by habits of licentiousness and insubordination, and inured to every species of violence and crime, are surely much less calculated than they were four years ago for so feeble and discordant a system of Government.

INSTEAD, therefore, of pretending, like DUMOURIER, to find a rallying point in the absurd and mischievous reveries of the first Legislative Assembly (or indeed anywhere within the whole compass of the Revolution) the real friends to their country will ardently desire the restoration of their ancient Monarchy, as affording the only chance for a return of repose, harmony, and subjection to the laws. To the same object will the wishes of every friend to Humanity be directed, for the sake of that general peace and security which, as experience has fully proved, cannot be regained without the re-establishment of order in France.

UNTIL the restoration of that puissant Monarchy, it will be in vain to hope for the complete destruction of that Revolutionary Power which

which menaces and defies the whole world—
which endangers the rights of every PROPRIETOR IN EUROPE—which seeks the destruction of
the Government and the Church of every country
—which aims at the universal disorganization of
society—and which, finally, has kindled a general
War; in which so many States have been compelled
to engage, not merely in defence of their honour, but for the preservation of their existence.

T H E E N D.

(93)

—allowable to be paid by him when he
arrives there to judge of the condition down
to hold him responsible—though it were
you up to him to show that you have done
no damage to his property—such a conduct
is not only a robbery but a robbery—(which)
is more than twice the value of the goods
delivered to you—therefore you ought to be
obliged to pay him double or even quadruple
the sum paid to him.

